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/58 cont./ With a few exceptions these colonists owned no land in Buginese country (3). They worked fields that

> 3. The group in Paria was primarily making a living from a number of fishponds situated along the seacoast. They had found these in a deplorable state but had restored them completely. They lived on the ponds where they bred and marketed fish under very favorable conditions at the time of the study.

belonged to large landowners, who here are both members of the nobility as well as merchants who have become wealthy during the last 10 to 15 years. Since 1939 the leadership of the Sadang irrigation project has been turning extensive /59/ dry-land regions into potentially fertile sawah areas. The shortage of manpower, however, is extreme. As long as this continues, the colonists can demand very good working conditions. Their bargaining position is strong. For example, one group demanded of a certain large landowner that he let no others cut rice in his sawahs.

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There is little expression of a need for securing a more solid economic position by buying land in the new region of residence. Some even considered a sawah at such a distance from the homeland an unsafe possession. Several colonists seemed to have redeemed sawahs which they had earlier mortgaged in their homeland with money they earned in Buginese country, and even to have given mortgages on new sawahs there. At this point, therefore, the tie with the homeland seemed to be very strong.

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

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3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the

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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

1:Chabot--145 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

471 /110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 471 571 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

[565] Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

/112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called, for purposes of differentiation, "small representative" (koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa, it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 460 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f. 30 per month, and one meal costs about f. 1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f. 1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
492 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.